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NATIONAL REVIEW

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ay 2, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Why Does the World Hate America?

RAYMOND CARTIER

Lippmann's "Prerogatives"

SAMUEL J. KORNHAUSER

West Virginia: Hot and Bothered

SAM M. JONES

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . MEDFORD EVANS

FRANK S. MEYER · L. BRENT BOZELL · JAMES BURNHAM

RUSSELL KIRK · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM · STANLEY PARRY

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

(Mr. Jones is now making an extended survey of the pre-election scene in the various states. His special reports will appear in this space from time to time.—THE EDITORS)

Charleston, West Virginia

If the popularity polls were to be accepted at face value, the Republicans would seem to have little to do except go through the motion of renominating the man in the White House and then settle back to await the second Eisenhower landslide. But the more realistic Republican professionals and some political news-analysts are by no means certain that the election is in the bag.

When states with big electoral votes, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan, are under Democratic Governors, cautious observers are disinclined to make long-range predictions. With a GOP-conceded defection in the Farm Belt and small but intense minorities of anti-Eisenhower Republicans in most states, the positive pre-Convention prophecy has little value. These conditions do, however, serve to inspire the hard-working, ground-level politicians of both parties to seek accurate information concerning every state where the two-party system is operative.

Nightmare for Analysts

As you may remember from your school books, West Virginia was a part of Virginia until the Civil War, when forty western counties voted against secession and formed a state government. The new state was admitted to the Union two years later, in 1863. With this background it is not difficult to understand the hard-core Republicanism that still survives as an integral part of the state's political life, despite a recent history of Democratic fealty. Since 1900 West Virginia has cast its electoral vote seven times for a Democrat and seven for a Republican. From 1932 through '52 it remained in the Democratic column. Stevenson won over Eisenhower by 44,000 in a total vote of 872,000. Truman defeated Dewey four years earlier by 113,000.

Even at the height of Roosevelt's popularity, Republicanism was far from crushed in West Virginia, and in recent elections about 70 per cent of the municipalities have chosen Republican mayors. Twenty-eight of the 55 counties now have Republican officials. The Democratic-Labor State House machine has been dominant for a long time. The Democrats hold both U.S. Senate seats, all six seats in the House of Representatives, the Governorship, 25 out of 32 seats in the State Senate and an overwhelming majority in the House of Delegates. The machine has created a bureaucracy of great potency in elections, of which the nucleus is some 15,000 road-commission employees.

Cracks in the Battlements

On the surface the Democratic-Labor coalition seems invulnerable. But time and change are taking their toll. West Virginia had a depression when other states were experiencing a mere recession. The economic tumble of King Coal in the first years of this decade affected practically the entire population, and the repercussions were felt both in the grocery store and the voting booth. The state has staged a comeback since '53. It is hard to find anyone today who is not optimistic. The export market has provided one outlet for coal; derivatives, another. The chemical industry and atomic energy installations have helped immensely to brighten the picture. But while coal production is high, employment in the mines has dropped; mechanization has moved in to stay and grow. Politically, the economic transition has a special significance. Prior to the depression in coal, the United Mine Workers had 120,000 dues-paying members; today the estimated membership is between 65,000 and 70,000. In 1952, the state machine saturated the coal-mining counties with propaganda on the evils that would befall labor under a Republican President. A repetition of this technique would have less impact this fall.

A new potential is the Negro vote. Integration is not a problem in West Virginia in the sense that it is in the South or even in some parts of the North. Not only in schools and colleges has the colored citizen been accepted, but also in the legislature and in positions of responsibility and prestige in business and industry. No one knows what effect this relatively quiet transition in racial relationships will have in the November elections; but the Republican belief

(*Continued on p. 13*)

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Genghis *and the* Gatekeeper

THOUGH he took scores of fortresses, Mighty Conqueror Genghis Khan met only one wall he could not breach by force.

The Great Wall of China had been built just to keep out those northern barbarians. Tall as a hill and broad enough for six horsemen to ride along abreast, it would be costly beyond reason to storm. The Chinese were complacent.

But complacency is weakness when the enemy is a Genghis Khan. One of the gatekeepers received a secret message: "You shall have gold and high position." It was enough. One night he opened to the Mongol army—and all China fell.

Situations repeat themselves. The current barbarians of the steppes might balk at the cost of a frontal attack. But ours is a free country, and free countries have many gates. Not big enough for armies, perhaps. But big enough to let secrets out and terrible weapons in.

Who are our gatekeepers? All of us: the voters, the men we elect, and the government officials they appoint. None of us can be complacent about the danger of communism. None of us can forget the price we may have to pay—if a single American in a position of trust is seduced by the promises of communism.

Legend has it that the Khan's first order after entering the gate was that the gatekeeper be put to the sword.

He knew that no traitor can ever be trusted. Perhaps the Russians do too. It's something for our American communists to think about.

The Timken Roller Bearing Company

CANTON 6, OHIO

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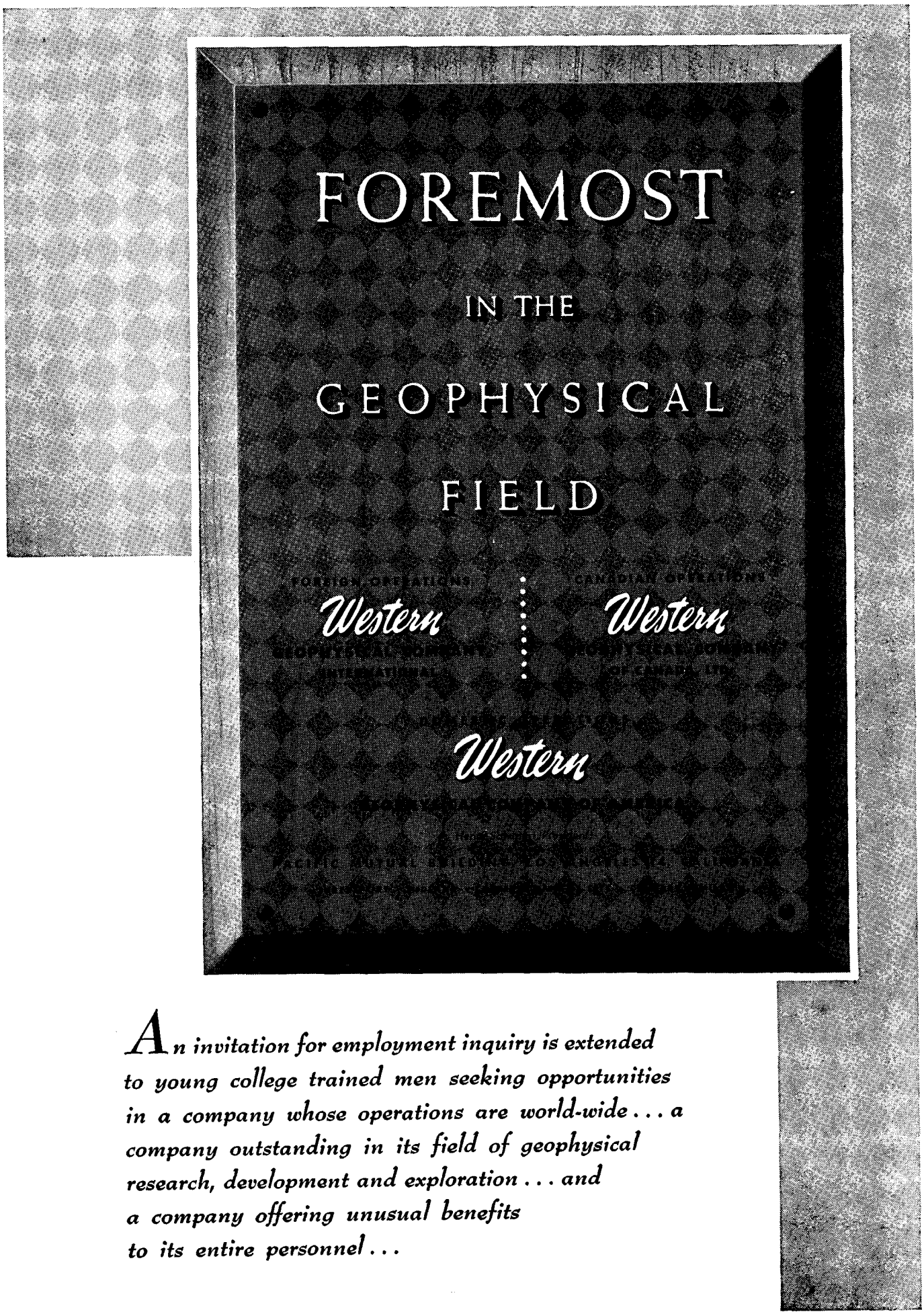

An invitation for employment inquiry is extended to young college trained men seeking opportunities in a company whose operations are world-wide . . . a company outstanding in its field of geophysical research, development and exploration . . . and a company offering unusual benefits to its entire personnel . . .

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The WEEK

As Khrushchev and Bulganin neared the shores of England, Moscow announced that she was graciously ready to join in the settlement of the Middle Eastern crisis which she had provoked. Official Britain and America, who have so long been desperately seeking means to keep the Soviet (and before it the Russian) Empire *out* of that key region, bowed low in greeting. The Communist spider doesn't need to bother luring us into *his* parlor. We usher him eagerly into ours.

Mr. Kefauver, the common man's common man, was growing into a phenomenon deeply disturbing to anybody who believes in the wisdom of universal suffrage: just by demonstrating that he was not one whit better than the next guy, he seemed to be persuading people that he was fit for the Presidency. But the audience may be starting to get bored with Senator Kefauver's hand-shaking "I'm Estes" act. In the New Jersey primary he straggled far behind Governor Meyner's regular organization slate. Lincoln may have been right, at that, about fooling all the people.

New Delhi and Karachi have had another round over Kashmir. Nehru proposed a partition along the present lines of de facto occupation, which were established by the Indian Army with the help of an Indian-engineered coup. This would bring the greater part of the region (including all its fertile land and most of its predominantly Moslem population) under Indian sovereignty. Pakistan replied, not unnaturally, with a renewed demand for the plebiscite that the UN some years ago promised. Nehru, who is all for democracy in Alabama, just can't see how it applies at his doorstep.

The official organ of the Typographers Union has gleaned the following picture of conditions in the Chinese People's Republic from stories in the Chinese Communist press itself: "1. In some plants workers are forced to labor 24 to 32 consecutive hours. 2. At a public meeting Communist Party representatives laud the commendable spirit of certain workers who stayed on the job for two days and nights. 3. Workers on special emergency jobs toil five days and five nights in succession. 4. Workers are recalled from sick leave and forced to produce on a 32-hour shift." Overtime in the Chinese People's Republic is usually

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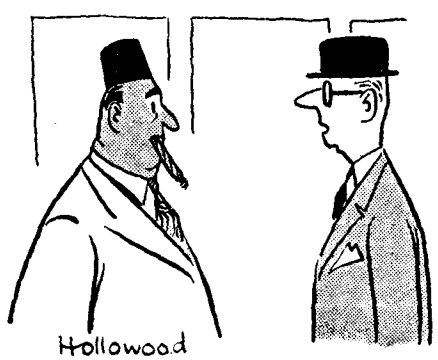
recorded as advance work or as a "contribution" to the State. What a revolution of the proletariat that one has turned out to be!

AFL-CIO Vice President Walter Reuther returned to the United States last week from a twelve-day visit to India, replete with a towering turban, an inflated ego and the whispered sweet nothings of Indian leaders in his ears—to the effect that he, at least, was one American who understood the vast subcontinent. Mahatma Reuther, who managed to travel 4,000 miles and speak 119 times in twelve days, while learning to understand India, used a sure-fire formula for success and popularity. He criticized America.

Elder Poet and Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg, on receiving the Albert Einstein Commemorative Award, murmured that he "planned to do some thinking on how the name of Albert Einstein is going to travel across the period of time. It may be," Sandburg added, "that the names of Socrates and Plato are forgotten while the names of Einstein and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer travel on." Wanna bet?

The invitation by the Princeton Cliosophic Debating Society to Alger Hiss to lecture on "The Meaning of Geneva" was followed by angry protests from some Princeton alumni and, of course, by angry anti-anti protests from others; by a statement from the University President that Princeton itself was not the inviting power; by an angry blast from the American Legion; and by yard upon yard of editorials in the *Daily Princetonian* in defense of the "right to invite." Then, by a single stroke of genius, Father Hugh Halton, Catholic Chaplain at Princeton, placed the whole controversy in focus. Father Halton invited Washington newsman Willard Edwards—who covered both Hiss perjury trials—to speak on "The Meaning of Alger Hiss" twenty-four hours ahead of the Cliosophic clambake.



"The Russians offer you loans at two per cent while our terms are four per cent. On the other hand, the Russians probably expect payment."

(Reproduced by permission of the proprietors of Punch)

A Happy Warrior

One of Dwight Eisenhower's chief assets as a politician is his reputation for not being one. Mark Antony began his oratorical slaughter of Brutus with the disclaimer, "I am no orator as Brutus is." Just so the President, in his televised political massacre of the Democrats on the farm bill question, paused for the disarming parenthesis, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am no political expert."

The political touts had spread the word that the President would sign the farm bill. It was the smart play as they had doped it. By a clever covering message, the President could saddle a Democratic Congress with responsibility for the bill's bad features and heavy cost. At the same time the farm belt's election-year wrath would be soothed by the thick salve of the bill's three-billion-dollar handout.

The President, as often before, outsmarted the dopesters. He was able to have it both ways—three ways in fact. So why settle for less?

First: Mr. Eisenhower gets full public credit for the veto of a bill that was bad, indeed terrible. The veto message and the TV report to the nation provided a forum for a wise, true and formally nonpartisan analysis of the bill's faults. "The bill is contradidictory and self-defeating even as an emergency relief measure and it would lead to such serious consequences in additional surpluses and productive controls as to further threaten the income and the welfare of our farm people . . . [It] is administratively bad and would require the hiring of thousands of additional inspectors and enforcers.

"The problem is price-depressing surpluses," which necessarily result from government supports and subsidies. "To return now to wartime 90 per cent supports would be wrong. Production would be stimulated. Markets would be further destroyed, instead of expanded . . . More surplus would accumulate . . . Regimentation by ever stricter production controls would be the end result."

Excellent: Even Ludwig von Mises couldn't object to a word of it.

And the next morning the newspapers of the nation nearly burst their press forms with editorials on the President's conscience and courage.

Second: Mr. Eisenhower, taking the offensive in accord with a strategic rule that applies not only on the battlefield, pinned blame for an unworkable, irresponsible farm bill on a Democratic Congress and the Democratic Party. This he did, moreover, without even mentioning the Democratic Party by name.

Further, by stressing congressional failure to enact the soil bank plan as a separate bill in time for this year's crop, the President suggests that the Democrats and their Congress are also to blame for the

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farmers' not getting the billion and a half dollars that the plan would have shelled out this year.

After this unkindest cut, cries of Democratic anguish were heard in the land.

And *third*: Having gathered all moral credit to himself, and pushed all blame on his opponents, Mr. Eisenhower then made the end play that gave him his slam redoubled. Blithely disregarding all of the principles by appeal to which he had motivated his veto, he figured out a way, under the still prevailing Agricultural Act of 1954, to distribute to the farmers a billion dollars plus between now and, by a happy coincidence, Election Day.

The parity support price on five basic commodities will be *raised*: a separate support program for corn "will be announced at an early date"; the support price of manufactured milk will be "increased to $3.25 per hundred pounds"; more than $400,000,000 will be used "in strengthening the prices of perishable farm commodities."

And the President further proposed that—if only the stubborn Democratic Congress will enact the soil bank plan right away—a prepayment gimmick be included, so that payments to farmers "could add up to as much as an additional $500,000,000 to them this crop year"—*i.e.*, before November.

Pretty good for an amateur.

Death of a Corpse

On April 18, Dmitri Shepilov, editor of Moscow's *Pravda*, pronounced the funeral service for the Cominform, which had been dead on its feet for the past five years.

Theoretically the Cominform was made up of delegates from the East European satellite Communist parties plus the Italian and French parties. Its theoretic headquarters were in Bucharest, Rumania. "Dissolution" was decided on, however, without any meeting of the Cominform members. The announcement came from Moscow. Stalin's ghost must have given a genial chuckle at this example of the "democratic" methods of the new "anti-Stalinist" and "collective" leadership.

Since shortly after its formation, the Cominform has been held in inactive reserve for bargaining purposes in dealing with Tito. Now, with the reconciliation between Moscow and Tito achieved (see NATIONAL REVIEW, April 25), the time has come to sweep out the rubbish. The Cominform burial is thus one in the series of events which includes the "rehabilitation" of Kostov, Rajk and Gomulka, the dismissal of the anti-Titoist premier of Bulgaria (Chervenkov), and the further purging soon to come.

The timing was made to coincide with the Bulganin-Khrushchev arrival in England. Moscow figured, and quite rightly, that liquidation of the Cominform—exactly like the liquidation of the Comintern before it—would be seized on by fellow travelers, appeasers and dupes as proof that the Communists have abandoned the program of world revolution. It will thereby contribute to that receptive "atmosphere" which Moscow needs in order to derive the maximum profit from its current tactics.

The dupes might disabuse themselves if they would do no more than read the official text of dissolution. They will discover that in the Communist view, the reason why the Cominform is no longer needed is precisely the emergency of the revolution "from the confines of a single country and its transformation into a world system." Eliminating the Cominform, far from indicating a decentralization of local Communist parties, "will make even stronger the reciprocal collaborations between the Communist and Workers' parties, on the basis of the principles of the international proletariat . . . and will strengthen the fraternal bonds between them." So say the Communists and, this time, we believe them.

Visitor from Spain

The Spanish Foreign Minister had, surprisingly, not a word to say about American sins and failures. Don Alberto Martin Artajo made no reference to segregation, Goa or the recognition of Peiping. He did not rant against "conditions" on aid, or threaten slyly to deal with Moscow if we didn't settle everything his way. He did not even say anything against John Foster Dulles.

Instead, when he spoke publicly, his words were polite, literate and frank. He presented the problems and the policy of his country not as a pretended global humanitarian, but as a Spanish patriot.

"From 1953 on, our two countries have entered a new era in their relationship," he said in his address at Fordham University, and he recalled the close past associations between Spain and ourselves, beginning with the Spanish aid—military and economic—to our desperate young revolution.

"In 1946," he went on soberly, "Spain was sacrificed to the policy of appeasement of Soviet Russia." He continued warmly: "I still remember with deep feeling the visit of Admiral Sherman to the Spanish Chief of State in July 1951 . . . In that frank and cordial meeting between military men the basis was built for a mutual understanding . . . We arrive at the direct alliance with the United States which constitutes one of the most solid ramparts of continental freedom.

"Our American allies have conducted themselves in Spain with consummate correctness in all respects."

Can we believe our ears?

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"Our principal interest was and is the defense against Communism, that No. 1 enemy of the free world which we knew before and know better than all the other European peoples." And he ended by thanking the university "for the opportunity . . . to express . . . my ideas in this new era in the relations between Spain and the United States in which Spain enters with full historic understanding and without fear."

Imagine! An *anti*-Communist who, moreover, isn't even afraid! To the State Department, he must have sounded slightly scandalous: there was, in his speeches, not a note of Nehru, Mollet, Tito, Sukarno and Gronchi. To the American people, he may have sounded like that rare thing—a firm ally.

Advertising Ike

A recent advertisement, sponsored by a large advertising agency, is so obsequiously pro-Eisenhower that the Democratic National Committee probably won't have much difficulty persuading the Justice Department that it violates the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, which prohibits corporations from making expenditures in connection with Presidential elections or political conventions. (The ad, addressed to "Dear Ike," asks the President "to lead us during these next crucial years . . . most of us are not politicians at heart. We don't think you are, thank God. . . .")

The Democrats, we believe, are right in contending that however innocent of political guile is the advertising corporation at heart, it is in fact engaged in undiluted pro-Eisenhower agitation at a time when Eisenhower is a contender for another term. Let the Democrats press the point. Let the Justice Department prosecute, and the court find the advertising agency guilty. And then let the Congress ask itself why the CIO can run great big advertisements extolling the choice of the working class, with union funds, while a corporation may not back its own candidate? The Democrats' maneuver to silence the corporate Ike-lovers may end up costing them the reiterated acclaim of devoted, and very well-heeled, union leaders.

Whose Secret?

By a vote of 59-27, the Senate rejected Senator Mike Mansfield's proposed resolution to bring the Central Intelligence Agency under the normal legislative jurisdiction of Congress, through the creation of a "watchdog" joint committee comparable to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Congress allowed itself to be intimidated by pressures from the Administration and from mystery-mongering CIA agents who blanketed Capitol Hill just prior to the voting.

Senator Mansfield's bill was carefully drawn, after several years of discussion, inquiry and analysis. It was an attempt to recover for Congress, and for the people acting through Congress, control over one of the most crucial, expensive and dangerous agencies of the government.

It is not merely congressional privilege but the constitutional obligation and duty of Congress to guard the nation's purse and to check the Executive's conduct under the laws. By rejecting this bill, Congress has failed both of these duties. Neither Congress nor any of its committees has official knowledge of funds put at CIA's disposal—and they are vast; nor of CIA's record of performance—and it is bad.

We rather imagine that the lid will blow off CIA one of these days. It looks as if Congress, by its failure to act beforehand, may get caught in the explosion.

Post-Script by Time

In a recent issue, *Time* magazine devoted over 4,000 costly words, five photos, one cartoon, and its cover, to Publisher Philip Graham and his *Washington Post and Times-Herald*. Everything from Graham's high-school nickname ("Muscle-bound") to his smoking habits (forty per day), and from the *Post* décor (sterile grey newsroom) to its ideas of decorum (no sandwiches or coffee at desks), found its way into the eleven-column story. But the raffish tale of the *Post's* embarrassing involvement with secret informer Paul Hughes—surely grist to *Time's* mill—did not take up a single line. There was, in fact, not a word on this fascinating subject.

It isn't as if the Hughes case were so obscure that researchers even less diligent than *Time's* could not have dug it up. Senator Barry Goldwater, about that time, attacked the Democratic National Committee, the ADA and the Washington and New York *Posts* on the Senate floor for their part in that "abominable hoax to blacken the name of a U.S. Senator." And it isn't, either, as if the conduct of *Post* Publisher Graham, *Post* Executive Editor Wiggins and *Post* Managing Editor Friendly could be excused on the grounds that they were simply dupes of a clever fabricator. Graham, Wiggins and Friendly—all Charter Members of the Anti-Secret-Informer League—were every bit as ready as Messrs. Rauh and Fritchey of the ADA to believe Paul Hughes when the inventive former Air Force sergeant, posing as a disgruntled McCarthy investigator, offered to help them find evidence of illegal activities on the part of the Wisconsin Senator. The *Post* even acted as middleman to expedite various payoffs made to Hughes during

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his brief but exciting career as informer to ADA and the *Post*.

Since all this was not mentioned in *Time*, certain statements in the cover story probably appeared more risible to us than to most. Such as:

—*Time's* claim that the *Post's* Washington men "have a classic role as *people's monitor over the government . . .*"

—*Time's* deadpan statement that "the paper also wields its influence behind the scenes, *helps make the news it reports . . .*"

—Publisher Graham's summary of a newspaperman's task: "You rub up against so many things that you have an opportunity to be decent, constructive and *half intelligent about some of them . . .*"

—And finally, Graham's ambition for the *Post*: "Before I die I would like to see the *Post* . . . with a sense of vocation on the part of the people who write and edit it *and with a continuity of fundamental principle.*"

Publisher Graham obviously believes in Mencken's definition of conscience as a still small voice which says "someone is watching." But *Time*, obviously, was not.

The Criminal as Judge

The International Union of Operating Engineers—representing 250,000 members—decided, at its Chicago convention, that the disciplinary action taken by Local 138 against Peter Batalias and William Wilkens was justified.

It all began when Peter Batalias spoke up at a meeting of Local 138 against the better judgment of William C. De Koning, Jr., who—though convicted of extortion in 1954—is President and Business Manager of the Local. Batalias was so viciously beaten at the meeting that he had to be taken to the hospital.

Before long, the district attorney filed charges of criminal assault against several members of the Local. Among others, the government subpoenaed Batalias and William Wilkens, both of whom bore witness to the attack. The trial failed to pinpoint and convict Batalias' assailants, but the officials of Local 138 held a trial of their own where they found Batalias and Wilkens guilty of "bringing the union into disrepute," suspended them from all union activities for five years, and fined them a total of $1,400 (later reduced to $200 by the International Union).

Peter Batalias and William Wilkens are dedicated union men. As long as they can, they want to work for their rehabilitation through union channels. When the Chicago convention rejected their appeal, they wired George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, urging that "the labor movement cannot afford to lose this fight." And they were right. Their plight captured national attention when labor columnist Victor Riesel excoriated Local 138 in a broadcast a few hours before a thug flung acid in his face.

Mr. William Keating, attorney for Batalias and Wilkens, argues persuasively: If these men are not fully reinstated by their union, when their only crime has been to testify truthfully in court, it will mean that "a person's obligation to his union transcends his obligation to society." It will also mean that society is willing to abandon decent union members to extortionists who have captured a union.

Discord in the Air

The State Department and the Liberals are washing their dirty linen in public. As long as the McCarthyite terror persisted, they loved, honored and obeyed each other without question. But now that they are left with only World Communism to combat, the Liberals and the State Department show exasperation with one another.

Last month, after the FBI reported derogatory security information on 30 out of 100 members of the Symphony of the Air (the magnificent orchestra assembled for Toscanini), the State Department withdrew its sponsorship of a forthcoming foreign tour by the Symphony. The protest of Paul Henry Lang, music critic of the Sunday *New York Herald Tribune*, is perhaps representative of the Liberal reaction.

Mr. Lang describes the Symphony of the Air as that "devoted band of musicians" which, when "mercilessly tossed out in the cold by NBC," just because it was losing money, "bravely kept itself intact," mostly by accepting aid from the government. And now even this prop has been knocked out from under it because a Congressman "of the kind of red-blooded patriotism which seems to regard artists, scholars and such as fundamentally un-American" triggered an investigation of the group.

What harm can a few Leftists and fellow travellers do?, Mr. Lang asks his readers. For "even if artists are indiscreet enough to air their political convictions they convert nobody, and they are still great artists." Or, if it's money we're worried about, why "save pennies on intellectual propaganda that could do more good than millions in arms and goods?" And finally Mr. Lang appeals to our common sense. A trip through lands which do not enjoy our standard of living might serve to bring the musicians to feel more kindly about the United States.

With this argument Mr. Lang converts NATIONAL REVIEW. Until we learned that going abroad might reconcile American musicians to America, we had wondered why our taxpayers should be burdened with the cost of financing a self-conscious effort to convince the world that we, too, have Culture.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The Bricker-Dirksen Amendment

The President has referred the new (Dirksen version) Bricker Amendment to his lawyers — a decision that probably precludes congressional efforts this year to limit the treaty power. For those who are anxious to put effective limitations on the treaty power, this is a lucky break. The new Dirksen version of the amendment is evidently ambiguous enough to disturb Mr. Eisenhower's advisors in the executive branch; but they are not likely to balk forever. For the original Bricker language is sufficiently emasculated to make the amendment a thoroughly undependable bulwark against the evils the Bricker school has been warning of for these many years. The danger here is obvious: *if an ineffective amendment is passed, the advocates of treaty-power limitation will have lost their talking point; and will thus be immobilized for as long as it takes the courts to prove, in two or three solid cases, that they failed to accomplish their objective.*

The basic constitutional dispute with respect to the treaty power is over the question: "Does the Constitution, *as it now stands,* permit the federal government to do things via the treaty route that it is forbidden to do through ordinary legislation?" The school that has answered "no" has consistently been defeated in the courts—*e.g.* in *Missouri v. Holland,* in *U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright,* in *U.S. v. Pink.* Now the dissenters propose an amendment which provides merely that a "treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with any provision of this Constitution" shall be void; and which therefore begs precisely the question at issue — namely, whether the Constitution now provides that the treaty power is broader than, or is equal to the legislative power. Thus, since the Supreme Court's former reading of the Constitution is not specifically challenged, the Court will predictably handle future treaty cases as it has in the past.

In his article reluctantly endorsing the Dirksen version of the amendment (NATIONAL REVIEW, April 4), James Burnham suggests several situations with which, presumably, the Dirksen Amendment would deal successfully. Let us consider Mr. Burnham's references, and let us note how the Supreme Court might be expected to dispose of them in the future.

As to the *Missouri v. Holland* situation (where the issue is whether the states' reserved powers limit the federal government's treaty powers to the same extent that they limit the federal government's legislative powers): In the *Holland* case, involving a treaty regulating bird migration, infringement of an explicit prohibitory provision in the Constitution was not alleged. The question, as Mr. Justice Holmes put it, was whether the bird regulation was "forbidden by some invisible radiation from the general terms of the Tenth Amendment." The Court found that the radiation, visible or invisible, was not strong enough where treaties are concerned. And there is nothing visible in the Dirksen Amendment that instructs the courts to repudiate the *Holland* doctrine in future cases where the treaty power and the Tenth Amendment collide.

As to the *U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright* situation (where the issue was the validity of *executive agreements* made pursuant to allegedly "inherent" "powers of external sovereignty"): In *Curtiss-Wright,* the Supreme Court held that the federal government, specifically the President, has powers in the field of foreign relations over and beyond those expressly granted by the Constitution. The power to make executive agreements was, the Court said, in the same category as the powers to make treaties and wage war; and just as the latter would exist even had the Constitution not acknowledged them, so the former exists without specific constitutional acknowledgement.

But this was not to say that in the nature of things the Constitution's framers *could* not have forbidden such executive agreements. Obviously, the Fathers might have expressly confined the national government's external powers to those enumerated — in which case the Court would have presumably reasoned in *Curtiss-Wright,* that the U.S. is a nation not possessed of the normal attributes of sovereignty, and thus was unable to participate in the executive agreement in question. The point the Court was implicitly making was that the Constitution did *not* so limit the national government's external powers, *i.e.,* that the Constitution, as it now stands, leaves room for executive agreements.

As to the UN Declaration of Human Rights situation (where the issue is whether the actions of international organizations have the force of law in the U.S.): Mr. Burnham acknowledges the inadequacies of the Dirksen Amendment in this area, and proposes an additional safeguard which would, in substance, provide that "No action by an international body shall of itself have the force of domestic law within the United States."

The addition is helpful — but only, be it noted, with respect to actions by international bodies that have not been ratified by the U.S. Senate. Mr. Burnham's clause would, that is to say, conclusively block the argument advanced *unsuccessfully* in the *Fuiji* (California alien land law) case and the *Youngstown* (steel seizure) case. But it would not prevent the Genocide Convention or the Declaration of Human Rights from becoming domestic law, if such UN actions were ratified by the Senate. In the latter event, an "action by an international body" would have gained the status of a treaty; and it would be valid as domestic law as long as it did not conflict with the Constitution *as currently interpreted.* The Dirksen-Burnham amendment, in other words, gives the courts no new instructions as regards the scope of the treaty power.

Nor, finally, is the Supreme Court in any of the above situations likely to be impressed with the argument that the authors of the Dirksen Amendment surely *intended* to restrict the treaty power, the defects in the Amendment's language notwithstanding. The obvious rejoinder here is that Congress expressly *rejected* the original Bricker Amendment, with its effective limitation language; and enacted in its stead, a truism.

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Why Does the World Hate America?

An Executive Director of 'Paris-Match,' the author discusses the fallacies of U.S. foreign policy in an article abridged from 'Match' of March 24

RAYMOND CARTIER

If his arrrival was not clandestine the word has no meaning. The only crowd was the police, closely guarding the Palam Airport. Pandit Nehru had disdained to come, on the pretext that he was not only foreign minister but Head of State. And in the absence of an Indian foreign minister, Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the great Republic of the United States, was received at New Delhi by a functionary so minor that the American press agencies were ashamed to mention him. They preferred to dwell on the fact that the Secretary of State had been gratified by a special and unusual favor—the authorization to fly over the Taj Mahal, in spite of the risk from vibrating motors to its fragile architecture.

A few weeks earlier Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev had arrived at this same Palam Airport amid the mobilized enthusiasm of the capital and the whole nation. Delhi had been as red as a cock's comb — red with pleasure — under a grand array of waving flags which the police themselves had distributed to the people. A million persons, cheering the jovial Khrushchev and the debonair Bulganin, had lined the route along which the closed limousine of Mr. Dulles sped as swiftly as an American hearse.

"The warmth of our reception of the Soviet leaders simply conforms to our national tradition," a slightly embarrassed Indian official had explained. "The Queen of England, or Mr. Dulles, arriving tomorrow, would be received with the same cordiality." Mr. Dulles arrived. He saw.

It is not always easy to understand the case of Mr. Dulles. Why, for example, did he choose to expose himself, and his country with him, to inevitable comparison in a Jakarta still vibrating with last year's acclamation of the Chinese President of Council, Chou En-lai? Nothing essential, said official Washington, nothing very important, motivated his conversations in Indonesia. Mr. Dulles is already, by a wide margin, the record-holder in mileage for his category. If he added to that mileage; if he visited capitals which no longer have any touristic attraction for him; if he incurred a supplementary and superfluous fatigue; he no doubt hoped to improve his contacts, to reduce misunderstandings, to rewarm atmospheres. In a word, to make himself liked — the very symbol of the aim which America has been pursuing desperately and disastrously for ten years.

India's Gratitude

The case of India, alongside that of Mr. Dulles, is edifying. America powerfully helped India to gain its independence. In the very midst of the war, President Roosevelt pressured Winston Churchill to grant complete political liberty to a country whose sympathies were almost entirely with Japan. Liberated, India became one of America's darlings — the great spiritually enlightened democracy which would follow arm-in-arm with America the bright road of progress. Material aid was not omitted, even though the Delhi government always refused to undertake the slightest political obligation. The U.S. subscribed twenty million dollars to the last five-year-plan of the Indian Republic, and the total of its gifts is some $454 million. When the chronic Indian famine threatened to become tragic three years ago, America threw into the bottomless pit two million tons of wheat, part of which was lost through inefficiency. Private aid—the phenomenal American private aid — has been added to this government effort, representing for the year 1955 alone nearly 25 million pounds of foodstuffs with a value of $18,326,000. American Point Four teams, and those of several large charitable organizations, are at work in every part of the Peninsula, helping the Indians to try not to die — while Russia has never offered to Indian distress the alms of a single sunflower seed.

The dividends of these two policies are illustrated by the contrast between the reception of Mr. Dulles and that of Bulganin-Khrushchev. There is certainly not a country in the world where America is more suspect as a nation, and the American more despised as an individual, than in India. Nehru has never ceased to obstruct every American effort to organize the defense of Asia, but Nehru in this case merely interprets the distrust and animosity of his people. When the Communists circulated the fable of American bacteriological war in Korea, probably not one Indian in a hundred thousand refused to believe it — just as not one in a hundred thousand doubted that the Americans were the aggressors. The same quasi-unanimity admits as an absolute fact that the Americans dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, instead of a German city, because the Japanese are Asiatic and colored. America could spend billions—and never succeed in effacing from the Indian mind the conviction that more than any other nation it represents the white man's privilege of aggressiveness and imperialism . . . while Russia, whose colonial conquests cover half of Asia and reach to India's very gates, is synonymous with racial equality and emancipation.

Take even England. Theoretically she oppressed India for two centuries, fattened on its substance, built on its misery the insolent fortunes of Belgravia and Mayfair, shed Indian blood in cruel repressions. Nevertheless today the Englishman — the hard, indifferent Englishman — compared with the American is to Indians a friend and brother. No lesser person than Gamal Abdel Nasser told me recently that he had learned in conver-

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sation with Nehru this enormous difference in the degree of unpopularity of the two nations. But when I asked Nasser what he himself thought of the Americans he thrust out his chin and answered only: "I like their films."

What applies to India applies to all Asia. America in 1948 literally tore Indonesia from the Dutch—and in his Jakarta press conference John Foster Dulles was reduced to pleading the cause of his country before accusers. Japan, guilty and beaten, was coddled by America like a newborn babe, re-educated with immense care in democracy and the cult of baseball, presented with two and a half billion dollars in accordance with the American system of reverse payment of war damages. All of which resulted in the neutralist Hatoyama government, Tokyo crowds burning American vehicles, Japanese horror films on the atomization of Hiroshima — as if the Japanese were tender! — and the immense, bitter resentment of defeat slowly fermenting in this profound people. South Vietnam, Korea and Formosa are border cases; they owe their every breath to America, yet even this does not always suffice to restrain the violence and impatience of their anti-American sentiment.

The Price of Unpopularity

One could continue this world tour. It is the same everywhere. Anti-Americanism is often the sole common interest of violently antagonistic nations or groups, as in South Africa where the whites curse America for its anti-colonialism and the blacks blame it for its segregation, or in the Near East where the Arabs abominate it while the Jews accuse it of egoism and meanness. Latin America has not a single country where the anti-Yankee spirit does not preponderate. The single fact that U.S. citizens have practically usurped the name of Americans causes a gnashing of teeth all the way to Canada where, a foreign minister has said, "the time of automatically easy relations with our southern neighbors is ended, I believe, forever."

In Washington the accounts are kept. They are enormous. Since the war America has distributed to the world $52,287,000,000, of which $45,-107,000,000 were gifts pure and simple. With this sum it could have rebuilt every road in the country, or created a super-aviation far beyond Russia's ability to compete. Moreover, what was given away was not merely money but wealth, particularly raw materials of which America, with its intense activity, does not have unlimited reserves. Strictly speaking, say the economists, foreign aid is national impoverishment. It is acceptable if it buys political advantages. Otherwise it is lunacy.

Western Europe always heads the list. It has received two-thirds of the 52 billion distributed since the war by the U.S. Government. England leads with six billion in economic aid, followed by France with five and a half billion, Germany with a little under four billion, and Italy with two billion eight hundred million. Countries small in size but deeply shaken by the war, such as Holland, Austria, Greece, have cost the U.S. more than a billion each. What is more extraordinary is that eleven years after the end of hostilities, when Europe is completely restored, private American generosity continues to feed a large number of Europeans. France, an agricultural paradise, still receives from fourteen philanthropic organizations almost 4,-400 tons of foodstuffs, which is nothing compared with 66,000 to Italy and 33,-000 to a Germany bathed in prosperity. The dollars which paid for these gifts, estimated at 160 million in 1955 for the whole world, are collected from individuals of whom many are mere wage-earners.

"We Are Too Rich"

These public billions and private millions have not made Western Europe a much more favorable milieu for the United States than South America or Asia.

It is hard to say whether anti-American sentiment is stronger in England or in France. In France it is aggravated by Communist influence and at present overexcited by the events in North Africa; but in England it is fed by the intense frustration of a nation recently supplanted in its world role. In any case, it crosses social barriers in the two Western countries nearest to America. The U.S. logically should have the sympathy of the working classes because of the condition of its own workers, and of the property-owning classes which it is protecting from annihilation by Communism. Yet more often it meets on the one side only principled opposition and on the other only misunderstanding, flippancy, often disdain.

Germany is not, for Washington, the consolation many Frenchmen imagine it to be. There were those early days when the GI's felt less foreign in the conquered nation than anywhere else in Europe. But like Japan, Germany restored does not have the unctuous humility of Germany in collapse. The "Go home" campaign began there, and the movement which is alienating the Bonn Government from American policy expresses the dominant attitude of the German people. The idea of an exclusive alliance with an ideologically conquered Germany is no longer one of the variants in American planning.

It is curious to interview American officials on the universal anti-Americanism. In general they act as if the matter were not very important. "We hold," they say, "too much of a place in the world, and we are too rich, for American unpopularity not to be inevitable. No matter what we do, we shall be criticized. We are making the best of it — it is for others to change." But this defensive attitude masks a great perplexity and a serious disillusion. The State Department files are full of studies of the phenomenon and reports on remedial means. In the center of a powerful continental system, surrounded by armies all ready to march, Napoleon could allow himself the illusion of despising with impunity the opinion of foreign peoples. America, in spite of its wealth and power, is not in the same situation.

In Europe, the response to American wealth is an attitude of intellectual hauteur. Outside Europe, it is more simply a burning reaction of antipathy and envy. America's desperate efforts to dissociate itself from colonial or ex-colonial Europeans, masters of yesterday's world, are in vain. One: Americans are white; two: they are rich; three: they are the richest of the white peoples—three indelible facts which ensure them, no matter what they do, the unfavorable prejudice of a majority of the world's inhabitants. Americans do not "share" the resentment left by white imperialism; they take it more and more exclusively on their own shoulders. Their disinterestedness, even if sincere, does not

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exempt them from it. Besides, a people fighting on a world field of battle cannot be disinterested. The Americans make themselves think they are, by considering the purity of their intentions and the quantity of good money which they throw after bad. But on this point the Arabs and Hindus are more perspicacious.

Uncle Santa Claus

Unfortunately there is little chance that America will change its attitude in the foreseeable future. Urgent voices are heard demanding that it stiffen its anti-colonial attitude and increase a foreign aid which, it is becoming clear, is calamitous for the helped as well as the helper. "Whether we are criticized or not," said one Washington official, "we cannot let Iranian children die of hunger." A boundless idealism; a "do-good" conception of foreign policy; a conviction that all peoples should be free and all men electors; these ideas still reign firmly in Washington. In the burning affair of North Africa, the State Department energetically eschews the slightest anti-French intervention, but official as well as public sentiment is categorically declared in favor of total independence for Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The precedents of the past ten years; the decline of every liberated country into Communism or neutralism; the dizzy growth of anti-Americanism in decolonialized Asia; the fact that liberated North Africa will join an Arab League which is practically Moscow-oriented; the further fact that the loss of North Africa will push France itself —humiliated and desperate—into the Soviet system; these realistic arguments, these indisputable truths, are unavailing against a sentimental enthusiasm that comes from a misinterpretation of history: the United States was born of a colonial rebellion (which is a false notion), and consequently all colonial rebellions deserve its sympathy.

It is terribly difficult to be the dominant power of an epoch. The Washington officials are not wrong in saying that anti-Americanism will exist, no matter what America does, so long as the U.S. holds its present rank. But anti-Americanism is also maintained by faults in judgment and by grave and avoidable errors. One of the most frequent is America's incapacity for taking sides. Its most general mistake is obedience to ideology, or more exactly to an intellectual confusion in which ideology and egoism blend and obscure one another. There would be less anti-Americanism in the world if America abandoned its philanthropic aspirations, its vocation of Santa Claus, its transcendental morality, all its missionary trappings, all its boy-scout gear, and if, at last, it followed openly and intelligently the policy of its own interest.

WEST VIRGINIA

(Continued from p. 2)

that the GOP will gain a material number of converts seems more logical than the contention of the Democrats that they will hold the Negro vote virtually solid.

An additional Democratic worry is the recent indictment of Charleston's Democratic Boss, Homer Hanna, on a federal income tax charge. Hanna is said to be still a power in the party and in the administration of Governor William C. Marland. Hanna's protégé, Marland, is a front-running candidate for the Democratic Senatorial nomination to complete the unexpired term of the late Senator Kilgore. Another Senatorial aspirant, John G. Fox, is reported to be the choice of Senator Neely. Another entry is former State President Byron Randolph.

Republican Senatorial entries include former U.S. Senator Chapman Revercomb, Phillip Hill and Sheriff Al. J. Carey, all from Charleston. A fourth GOP contender, Tom Sweeney of Wheeling, is said to have the best chance considering the inevitable split vote in the southern counties.

On the gubernatorial front, the GOP entries include Mayor John T. Copenhaver of Charleston, now in his second term, and Cecil Underwood, minority leader of the House of Delegates. Democrats will choose among Rep. Robert H. Mollohan (Neely's candidate), Milton S. Ferguson (Marland's) and J. Howard Myers, now an independent Democrat (one-time manager of Marland's and Kilgore's campaigns) and a fourth aspirant, Joseph F. Burdett.

With a multiplicity of proven vote-getters running, local experts refused to make any "firm guesses" on the outcome of the May 8th primary.

The primary will also decide party control in the state GOP. Old Guardsman Walter S. Hallanan is under attack by the "Ike-first" Republicans who hope to oust him from his committee post and control the Convention delegates. James Lakin, like Hallanan an original Taft supporter, is state Chairman. Most observers believe the organization slate will get a clear majority in the primary, in which case the opposition (with rumored White House backing) might contest the election at the national Convention.

West Virginia Democrats will go to Chicago uncommitted, divided and patient—waiting for the cat to jump. Stevenson is the nominal choice of a majority of the Democratic leaders, but his supporters are considerably less than dedicated. Symington's stock has been slowly rising.

With the present hairline Democratic control of the Senate, the battle for a single Senate seat could outweigh the importance of West Virginia's electoral vote. The GOP is given a fair chance to win the Senate race and one or more House seats.

It looks from here as though the West Virginia elections will be decided on state issues and, to a large extent, on state personalities. One finds no farm controversy, no emotional furore over integration, no debate on foreign policy, no sign of a national issue on which the parties take opposing stands. There is some dissident opinion, but no place for its expression: Conservatives, regardless of registration, are without a party or a Presidential candidate.

In a race between Eisenhower and Stevenson (or Kefauver or Harriman) the bulk of the conservative vote would go to Eisenhower. For this reason, plus a partial decline in the power of the Democratic-Labor machine, the potential shift in the Negro vote, and a reviving economy, the Republican chances are better than they were in '52. But West Virginia is still a border state, still leaning Democratic.

(For information and entrees provided, as well as for his clear and objective viewpoint, I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the assistance rendered by Mr. Harry G. Hoffmann, political editor of the *Charleston Gazette*. I would also like to thank those who, for sound political reasons, prefer anonymity.)

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The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

In Tribute to Sir John Kotelawala

My wife and I remember with particular delight one morning of our visit to Ceylon. Very early, in order to use the cool hour left by the retreating night, a young newspaper editor whom we had met the day before drove us from our hotel on Colombo Bay toward the farm of Sir John Kotelawala, with whom we were to breakfast.

On the way, passing by the hundreds of little shops, the first cocoanut groves and rice paddies, and the airfield where a runway had been shifted 23 degrees to leave standing a sacred bo tree, our friend told us stories about Sir John, who was then — it was 1951 — Minister of Transport. One was his favorite:

Ceylon, which after three centuries under the Portuguese and the Dutch had been British territory since 1796, was scheduled to gain self-rule and Dominion status in February 1948. The Communists, thinking that they could exploit the pre-independence period to engineer a complete break with Britain and a full social revolution, began a campaign of terror in late 1947. One of Kotelawala's close friends was among the first persons killed.

The morning after his friend's assassination, Sir John, with a submachinegun under his arm, spoke in Colombo's main square. He read the text of a new will that he had just made. This provided that if he died by violence, then his heirs would receive no part of his estate (and he is a wealthy man) while anyone of the twelve chief Communists remained alive; and these twelve were named by name. He further declared that if, while he lived, any other of his friends died by violence then he would himself take responsibility for eliminating the twelve chief Communists.

With that speech, our friend said, the Communist terror campaign ended.

Sir John's house, like many tropical houses, had high rooms with bare tile floors and little furniture. We ate in a long dining room opening out on a lawn beyond which was a pond with a small round island holding a vine-entangled summer house. There was porridge, in polite gesture to Western visitors; new strains of mangoes which Sir John had developed, curious rice pancakes with dropped eggs, and hotly spiced dishes for which we knew no names. A boy brought baby work-elephants from the barn to the open doors, where we fed them sugar cane.

Sir John was dressed in his country's style — a green silk skirt and white sleeveless tunic. He talked, with the smiles and charm that are usual in Ceylon, about his mangoes and trees and dappled goats, his experiments to increase land yield, his experiences in Europe, and Ceylon's problems.

Our press has called Kotelawala "pro-Western," but this is inexact. He is, and has always been, pro-Ceylon, and he was a leader in Ceylon's fight for liberation from colonial ties. But he believes that his country's political independence, military security and economic development can be promoted only by a rejection of internal Communism and Soviet entanglement, and by friendly, honorable association with the Western nations, in particular with Great Britain and the United States.

This is what he believes; this is what he told his people; and when he became Prime Minister in 1953 it was along lines dictated by these beliefs that he acted.

His domestic program has been vigorous: carving new farms out of the jungle; extending roads; pushing irrigation and power projects; encouraging light industry; organizing new schools and village medical clinics. Because Ceylon must sell its rubber and because no Western nation would buy it, he had to deal with Communist China, but only after agreement thereto with London and Washington. He was hospitable to the British air bases and naval station — which were of course good business for Ceylon as well as strategically so important.

But Sir John knew that, with Ceylon's explosively expanding population and her modest resources, there is no quick or total "solution" to her socio-economic problems. And knowing this, he refused to pretend that there was such a solution, refused to promise an easy utopia, or to offer quack remedies of expropriation and socialization which would in practice only aggravate the problems.

Though he is a practical politician, ready to make reasonable compromises even at some sacrifice of personal beliefs, Sir John would not become a demagogue on the basic questions of domestic or of international policy. Just as he told his own people the truth about their economy, so at Bandung, standing in the face of the Chinese delegates and the infuriated Nehru, he told the leaders of the new Asia the truth about the world outlook: that the Communists were imposing an imperialism more tyrannous and more total than that of the West had ever been.

Honor's Reward

This man has just been turned out of office by a Popular Front coalition that is demagogic, irresponsible, anti-white and anti-Western.

Part of the explanation seems to be the local eccentricities of Ceylon's politics, with its Trotskyites and its mischievous Buddhist monks. But beyond such factors are the vast, irrational forces that have been let loose in this resurgence of Asia: the mass passions which, played on by demagogues, burst into hatred of whites, vague dreams of Asian world supremacy, and delusions of quick economic transformation.

It is hard to estimate our share of responsibility. We have had good men in Ceylon; but as many in Ceylon must see it, Nehru's supercilious, Moscow-slanted neutralism is the key to unlock Washington. Gandaranaike, Sir John's successor, openly models his international position on Nehru's.

Of still greater influence, I think, was a belief now spreading throughout Asia, and beyond: that we — the United States and the West, that is — are losing, have almost lost. It is not mere demagogy for a small nation to feel that it must choose the winning side.

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Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

The President and 'The True Believer'

President Eisenhower, the *New York Times* tells us, has for several years been urging upon his associates a book by one Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer*. It has, says the *Times*, apparently on good authority, "influenced his thinking about the problem of how free societies should cope with international Communism."

Now this is a very curious circumstance, and one of sad significance — sad because the President's endorsement will enormously increase the book's circulation, but sadder still that he and others in high office could conceivably be influenced by the cheap cynicism of Mr. Hoffer's indiscriminate sniping at all belief, all strongly held principle, all moral doctrine.

I first heard of the book four or five years ago, shortly after its appearance, when a sociologist of my acquaintance pressed it upon me as the "most important book written since the war." In the intervening years it has been praised, quoted, intoned upon *ad nauseam* by the relativist social scientists.

That these gentlemen, who are usually so jealous, not of the intellectual standards but of the institutional credentials of those they deign to recognize, have shown such generosity to a self-educated longshoreman and migratory worker—which Eric Hoffer is—struck me from the beginning as rather remarkable. Although lack of formal education is always a hindrance, it has certainly never made extraordinary achievement impossible; but in recent decades such achievement has normally had little recognition from the trade union of the Ph.D.'s. Why, then, has this man, who, despite an occasional shrewd insight, writes clumsily and repetitively, with the cocksureness of the half-educated and the tone of the nineteenth-century village agnostic, been received with such adulation?

The answer is clear when one observes the uses that are made of him. His criticism of Communism is not the reason. It is the *form* of his criticism, which uses Communism and Nazism as stalking-horses from behind which to attack any and every firmly held set of beliefs, all commitment to value, all doctrinal religion. Like the notorious "voice from the sewer" of the Chicago Convention of 1940, Mr. Hoffer gives the spurious support of "the people" to the social scientists' fear and hatred of belief and principle.

What they only dare hint at in roundabout ways, he trumpets with a vulgar directness: Communism, and Catholicism; the Nazi cult of hatred, and principled moral doctrine; faith in God, and faith in the Inevitability of History—all are fanaticisms. The German Communist who became a Nazi in 1933 represents a phenomenon not to be differentiated from the conversion of St. Paul. The man to be admired is the man who takes nothing seriously, "the gentle cynic who cares not whether there is a God or not . . . the reasonable citizen who is in love with the present and has no taste for martyrdom and the heroic gesture."

Specious Parallels

To construct his stereotype of the man of faith as fanatical and evil, he places quotations from Hitler and Hess and the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* alongside of, and in specious parallel to, quotations from Luther and Pascal and St. Bernard. But nothing except Mr. Hoffer's own words can convey the full flavor, the exquisite tastelessness, of his callow jeerings at the principled. Limitations of space prevent me from quoting as extensively as I should like. One passage, therefore, which could be matched by a score of others, will have to do:

> At a certain stage, most men of words are ready to become time-servers and courtiers. Jesus Himself might not have preached a new Gospel, had the dominant Pharisees taken Him into the fold, called Him Rabbi, and listened to Him with deference. A bishopric conferred on Luther at the right moment might have cooled his ardor for a Reformation. The young Karl Marx could perhaps have been won over to Prussiandom by the bestowal of a title and an important government job . . .

Uncouthly, brutally, without the need for academic caution, Mr. Hoffer expresses the emotion which underlies the surface reasonableness of the relativist social scientists. It is no wonder they have taken him to their bosom. Principle is to them the Enemy. To be the acceptable modern democratic citizen, one must subordinate principle to expedience. The complaint of a distinguished academic reviewer of John H. Hallowell's *The Moral Foundation of Democracy* is typical:

> Hallowell . . . so narrows the limits within which compromise can function that he leaves no room for the realities of American politics. Either he does not see, or he implicitly rejects, the *sine qua non* of democratic compromise, namely, the *compromise of principle . . . Because he insists upon the primacy of principle*, Hallowell's book is a commentary upon democracy from the outside. [Stuart Gerry Brown, *Ethics*, April 1955; my emphasis.]

Expediency as Virtue

"Outside," perhaps, of pragmatist democracy. But the very foundation of American constitutionalism has from its beginnings been the rule of principle. It is only in recent years that principle has become fanaticism, and expediency a virtue. Of course, we do not, in politics, call it expediency. We speak of "a sane middle-of-the-road course." But at a time when the critical testing of principle is reflected in every decision, the middle cannot be, politically, anything but the point to which pressures push us.

Could it be that Mr. Eisenhower's susceptibility to *The True Believer*—from the tone of which I would have been sure he would shrink with loathing—has some relation to his advocacy of the middle of the road? One hopes not, and perhaps the most charitable interpretation to put upon his endorsement of this poisonous book is that he has never seriously read it—that once again the President has been "briefed."

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Lippmann's "Prerogatives"

In ascribing to the President prerogatives above those of Congress, Mr. Lippmann misinterprets the Constitution, says a retired Cleveland lawyer who is a well-known writer on constitutional law

SAMUEL J. KORNHAUSER

It is widely and readily assumed that Mr. Walter Lippmann approaches the issues on which he speaks with the accurate knowledge, the logic, and the cold neutrality of genuine scholarship. But if his frequent fallacious pronouncements were unveiled, and his prophecies checked against subsequent relative developments, his reputation for profound learning and penetrating insight would, I believe, abruptly decline.

I invite attention to a single, but important, example—his repeated charges that Congress usurps what he calls the "prerogatives" of the President. These, he would have us believe, rest on positive provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. Lippmann has persistently assailed the fundamental principles of representative government. The net effect of what he says is that in countries where forms of constitutional government exist, there is confusion and enfeeblement because their legislative assemblies, chosen by the people, have usurped functions which properly belong to the Executive; and that America is a conspicuous example of this vice. From this premise emerges his paradoxical conclusion that constitutional government can be saved only by circumventing the restraints designed for its preservation; that the national legislature should be shorn by evasion of its hitherto acknowledged exclusive power to determine policies and enact laws, and be transformed into a mere automatic agency to record the judgments and mandates of the Executive. In a word, we are bidden to trust ourselves to government by men, not laws.

Here you have Mr. Lippmann's key sentence:

"As we can see only too well in Washington, it is in the world today no easy matter to bring into being sufficiently strong governments by popular elections."

With assurance he reiterates that solution of our problems is unattainable so long as government by "popular elections" prevails. One is prompted to ask why, if this be so, we should not eliminate popular elections. But from that logical sequence Mr. Lippmann shrinks. He prefers resort to what he evidently believes to be a quite justifiable fraud: he would leave in the hands of the electorate an ostensible franchise, but would reduce their chosen representatives to a state of placid subservience to a strong, wise, and benevolent executive. In effect, he advocates elected executive autocracy. If you hesitate to believe this, here are Mr. Walter Lippmann's own words:

> There is a common and fundamental condition in the constitutional disorder of the Western world. It is that legislative assemblies, *being closest to the voters,* are exerting their powers to invade and usurp the prerogatives of the executive. Since it is impossible for assemblies to govern a country, they exercise their usurped power by *preventing the executive from governing it.* [My italics.]

Descended from on High?

Mr. Lippmann sums up his doctrine with the assertion— historically and intrinsically repudiated—that "The Constitution was designed to produce a government . . . in which the Congress advises, refuses, consents, inquires. . ." All else, embraced in the sphere of government, he would have us believe, is concentrated in the President.

Finally, he centers the full force of his prior generalities on our present government, thus:

> **Rarely, if ever before, in our history has there been such an enormous invasion and usurpation of the constitutional prerogatives of the President.**

Mr. Lippmann likes that word, "prerogative." It recurs incessantly in his column—in one alone, six times. Yet not once, there or elsewhere, does he point to language of the Constitution to sustain the alleged superior powers of the President, and the ascribed narrow, subordinate scope of Congress—because there simply is no such language nor implication. But if these "prerogatives" are not created by the Constitution (which limits the national government to the functions and powers it prescribes), whence do they arise? Did Mr. Lippmann discover

that, like the "royal prerogatives" of old, those he now so devoutly and redundantly proclaims descended on our elected chief magistrate from on high?

His self-sufficient assertions add up to this: that government by the people is an irremediable failure;

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that, since "sufficiently strong governments" cannot be obtained by "popular elections" of representative assemblies, they must be imposed on the governed. This is precisely what Mussolini said, what Hitler said, what Lenin said. They established (indeed they became) "sufficiently strong governments." That precisely is the creed of every autocrat in whatever garb he masquerades—the repudiation of the core and fiber of American concepts. We have built on the demonstrated truth that powers of government, unless effectively curbed, will sooner or later be corrupted into tyranny. Mr. Lippmann's assaults on American safeguards against tyranny are an indication of the lengths to which egotism and perverted thinking have driven professed "liberals."

The plain language of the Constitution, the debates and resolutions of the Constitutional Convention, all clearly demonstrate the intent: that the essential function assigned to the President is "execution of the national laws"—the Constitution and the congressional enactments. From these, and these alone, he derives his authority. He is made a magistrate, not a ruler. As to policy-making, it is his duty to supply information. He may recommend—not create, nor dictate. "All legislative powers," says the Constitution, are vested in the Congress, the assembly, to use Mr. Lippmann's words, "being closest to the voters." This clearly embraces policy-making. And where should such powers be lodged in a government by the people if not in that branch "being closest to the voters"?

Dangerous Expansion

Usurpation there has been, but not by Congress. For twenty years under Roosevelt and Truman our constitutional system was subjected to frightening stress by puffed-up powers assumed by the Executive. Nor have these dangerously dilated powers been sufficiently deflated by the present Administration. There is not a word in the Constitution, nor a vestige of clear and necessary implication derivable from its language, which confers on the President authority "to govern the country," as Mr. Lippmann would have it. There is not a word which assigns to the President authority to determine and dictate either foreign or domestic policy, to send his ready-made "must bills" to Congress, and to use the power and prestige of his office to beat its members into submission to his will. There is not a word in the Constitution on which, by any twist, a legitimate deduction can be founded that he may make treaties with foreign nations without Senatorial approval by calling them "executive agreements."

Nor is there in the Constitution anything which can justify the intrusion of a President to stifle passage of a resolution by Congress submitting for approval by the states a proposed constitutional amendment—action, indeed, which requires a two-thirds vote of both Houses. And, surely, a President overrides the law when he refuses to supply Congress with available information—not to protect the public interest, but to protect personal, political, or partisan interests.

Yet Walter Lippmann insists that the President has an "indisputable constitutional right" to "boycott" Congress, on any pretext his will or whim may dictate, by arbitrarily declining to submit information in his possession which a congressional committee requests.

I cannot resist adding this precious bit of prophecy to show that Mr. Lippmann's premonitory faculties are no less untrustworthy. He warned us that in furtherance of usurpation and dominion by Congress, the aim will be to gain "mastery of the Republican Convention in 1956 . . . the elimination of Eisenhower and his active supporters, and the nomination of a weak and willing puppet candidate." I wonder how Mr. Lippmann will now retract his prediction of things that did not come to pass.

At the first sign of a resumption by Congress of the place it must occupy if American constitutional government is to endure, Mr. Lippmann cries out that Presidential "prerogatives" are being usurped. It is high time that we challenge the pundits who disparage the root concepts of representative government, and urge us to embrace "sufficiently strong government" — strong, centralized, unfettered government, the crucial step toward extinction of individual liberty.

ON THE LEFT

C. B. R.

Good News for Coronaries. On September 29, 1939, William Z. Foster, chairman of Communist Party, USA, appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His counsel, Joe Brodsky, pleaded that his client had been completely prostrated by a heart condition between 1932 and 1936. In 1949, Foster used the same plea to avoid prosecution under the Smith Act. Since then the following hefty tomes have appeared under his name: *An Outline Political History of the Americas* (1951), *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (1952), *The Negro People in American History* (1954), and *The History of the Three Internationals* (1955). Foster is seventy-five years old.

Academic Freedom. George Moore of the University of California, who attended the Communist-dominated World Youth Festival in 1955, is a lecturer at the California Labor School (which has been cited by the Attorney General as subversive).

In a Religious Guise. Members of Congress are being bombarded by a "Religious Freedom Committee, Inc," which is strenuously opposing the reprinting of the Senate Internal Security Committee's Handbook on the Communist Party, USA. At least thirteen of the members of the "Religious Freedom Committee," including its secretary, Janice M. Roberts, were signers of an *amici curiae* brief filed on behalf of the Communist Party, USA, before the U. S. Supreme Court (urging that the Internal Security Act of 1950 be voided). Miss Roberts has been an assistant recording secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, which is cited in the Handbook.

Book Bargains. Featured on sale at the International Book Store on Wangfujin Street in Peking are the following U.S. publications: the *Daily Worker, People's World,* the *National Guardian,* Howard Fast's *Silas Timberman,* Herbert Aptheker's *History of the Negro People,* Steve Nelson's *The 13th Juror,* John Wexley's *The Rosenberg Case* and Gow and D'Usseau's *Deep Are the Roots.*

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Quantity with Quality

Brooklyn College is one of the largest, and one of the best, among American educational institutions. With some twenty-five thousand students (counting the night-school), four-fifths of whom are first-generation Americans, and a great many of whom work to keep body and soul together, this College (a part of the City College of New York) has a truly impressive record of intellectual attainment. Eighty per cent of its graduates recommended for admission to medical schools succeed in entering, a remarkable proportion; Brooklyn ranks twelfth in one list of the nation's fifty leading educational institutions; the average entering student ranks far above the average American college student in intellectual ability; and Brooklyn's graduates win a great many graduate fellowships. All this is achieved despite a limited budget and the lowest costs, to the student, in New York City.

The lively history of Brooklyn's twenty-five years, written by Dean T. E. Coulton, was published late last year by Harper: *A City College in Action.* I have myself written the history of a university, and know this to be no easy undertaking; but Dean Coulton has succeeded in turning out a vigorous and sometimes witty book, valuable to anyone who needs to understand the problems of educational administration in this winter of our discontent. For the most part, *A City College in Action* has to do with the administration of President Harry D. Gideonse, a man of mark.

Dr. Gideonse, a distinguished social scientist, came to Brooklyn from the University of Chicago in 1939. His courage and ingenuity have done much to elevate the whole tone of learning at Brooklyn and to bring peace and order to a campus often seriously menaced by Demon Ideology. By and large, American college presidents are not an outspoken breed: but President Gideonse has been fearless in speech and action. Never giving ground before the impudence of politicians or the malign intrigues of Communists, he has won through to conspicuous success. No college president's reputation stands higher; and, far from being an Artful Dodger, Dr. Gideonse always has been contemptuous of equivocation. He has not hesitated to take up unpopular causes: he contended against the Communists when they were at the height of their influence in New York, and exposed the shallowness of Nehru's policies in India when Nehru was a little tin god, and had some good words to say for European colonies when "anti-colonialism" was all the rage, and spoke out against fanaticism in Israel although — or perhaps because—85 per cent of his students were Jewish. Most arduous of all, his educational end was the establishment of a sound liberal-arts education in a time given over to vocationalism; and in this, too, he won. He has succeeded in giving primacy to the ancient intellectual and moral disciplines of *humanitas* among a polyglot student body and within the least tradition-governed of all cities.

For an apprehension of the complexity of the problem of academic freedom — a subject commonly treated as if it were a simple absolute — one could hardly do better than to read Dr. Coulton's chapters on "Stalinism" and on "Everybody's Business." President Gideonse has been one of the most vigorous of college presidents in freeing faculty and students from the bullying of leftist cliques; it is heartening and amusing to review his rebuffs of the inquisitorial American Civil Liberties Union, New York Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, and Students for Democratic Action. At the same time, he has successfully defended his faculty against vague charges of subversive activity, and has dealt the radical right as hard blows as he has dealt the radical left. Only his mordant sense of humor, I think, could have sustained him through all the petty tribulations and backbitings of the forties. All the plagues which afflict college presidents were visited upon him: the scurrilous student newspaper dominated by Communists, the *hubris* of city politicians, the threat of rackets in athletics, ideological and popular pressures of every description.

Higher education, President Gideonse knows, is an aristocratic undertaking in our mass-age. He believes that an end of a good college is the pursuit of "individuality in the achievement of diversity and excellence"; and he has endeavored always to "overcome the equalitarian and conformist tendencies of a democratic framework." He is not of the number of those who would have learning sacrificed to doctrinaire equalitarianism; and he does not talk the empty language of abstract rights without concrete duties. In his foreword to *A City College in Action,* Dr. Gideonse describes the success of Brooklyn in reconciling student participation in the academic community with the claims of order and moderation; voluntary programs conducted by both faculty and students have replaced demagoguery and indifference, in considerable part:

> "Democracy" in student activity once meant hectic participation once a year in an empty battle of slogans and leaflets. Today no one is accorded the right to share in the government of student life unless there is a record of participation in the student community itself. The exaltation of rights and the minimizing of responsibilities, which together have undermined the vitality of our student society as well as of the larger community of which it is a part, have now encountered a new insistence in our student Constitution that rights are privileges which must be earned in the shared discharge of common responsibilities.

I think that I discern in President Gideonse's firm and moderate policies of administration some influence of his youth in the Netherlands: the principles of just and balanced authority, of family rights and duties, of religious understanding, of prudent polity, which have marked Dutch character and society. It is fitting that a native of Rotterdam should preside over a great college in a city founded by men of his breed, and should reconcile the claims of tradition with the necessities of megalopolis.

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Hollywood: Gloomy Pollyanna

One can never be entirely sure, of course, but it seems to me that the silliest thing on earth is a Pollyanna who has turned gloomy. Which is exactly what's happening to Hollywood. It has apparently caught a virulent case of existentialism. Now existentialism looks bad enough on Parisian teen-agers who still sit at Jean-Paul Sartre's feet; but at their age, there is a disarming coltishness even in such an asinine posture. If, however, Mr. Nunnally Johnson (no spring chicken, he) puts on *Weltschmerz,* sensible persons in his audience will cringe.

The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, a practically endless (almost three hours running-time) film epic which Mr. Johnson wrote and directed, is a strong case in point, but by no means the only recent one. A week earlier I saw *Patterns* (by Rod Serling), and I left the picture somewhat puzzled—mainly because I couldn't figure out whether its makers intended to fill their audience with revulsion against our society or whether they didn't know what they were doing.

Patterns deals with business. American writing was for thirty years so contemptuously silent on business that there now exists a willingness to welcome any writer who rediscovers the subject, no matter how he treats it, as a prodigal son.

But one can, of course, write about business and remain a perfectly good Socialist. The European school of "social realism" has never made the mistake of discarding business altogether; on the contrary, some of the most powerful socialist fiction in Europe has very knowingly slaughtered the entrepreneur and his world. And early socialist writing in America couldn't take its eyes off the capitalist, either. Dreiser, for example, hardly produced a more savage and more fascinated book than *The Titan.* It was only in the twenties and thirties, when a maudlin sentimentalism began to replace the humorless sincerity and the honest drive of socialist writing, that "one-third of a nation" became the only permissible subject for "advanced" writers. And while, as we all have been shown in recent years, American business can handsomely survive this self-imposed abstentionism of American literature, the paucity of the remaining certified subject matter compels more and more American writers to violate the tribal tabu and to write about the great American fascination with business.

In the growing list of entries, *Patterns* occupies a commanding position, if only because sixty million Americans have by now been exposed to this piece of fiction. What they have been told — first in two nation-wide TV showings and then in a professionally mounted Hollywood production — is, mainly, that business ain't nice.

Now I am not, personally, too much impressed with the businessman's way of life, which I consider less rewarding (except financially, of course) than that of a writer. And Mr. Serling is entirely within his constitutional rights in cultivating his private idiosyncrasies. What disturbs me (though, frankly, not much) is his and TV's and Hollywood's claim that *Patterns* is a piece of realism. The managers of what are called "the American communications industries" seem to have pledged their sacred honor that, before they are through with *Patterns* and the American public, said American public will, by Jove, know what American business is. Namely, a jungle. And a jungle to boot in which the stronger beast kills the weaker beast just because killing is fun.

As a student of American business, I am willing to testify under oath that Mr. Serling, in *Patterns,* must be talking either of an altogether different activity (the writing racket, perhaps) or of an altogether different country. As everybody knows who's looked at American business in recent years, its current obsession, if any, is Gentility — that suffocating atmosphere of Public Relations, plus Salvation Army, plus Psychoanalysis, that turns junior executives into "problems of adjustment" and senior executives into bewildered old nurses. The story Mr. Serling tells is about as much the pattern of American business behavior as Mr. Sewell Avery is a representative of corporate management, or Mr. Nunnally Johnson an artist.

Now to return for a while to Mr. Johnson's *Man in the Gray Flannel Suit,* the aging Pollyanna was enthralled with a recent novel (by the same title) that probes the human depth of a Connecticut commuter to Madison Avenue and, to no one's surprise, discovers that such is life (and that life is getting — sigh! — sucher and sucher). On that, I am perfectly willing to take Mr. Johnson's word without his bothering me for hours with the dreariest possible kind of evidence. If two such average people as Jennifer Jones and Gregory Peck are married to each other, you can't expect much fun, particularly when Miss Jones learns that Mr. Peck, ten years ago, had a soldierly affair with a girl in wartime Rome. But what annoyed me about Mr. Johnson's opus is not so much that he bored the hell out of me, but that he takes such a dim view of cinemascoped existence.

In *Patterns,* the business organization whose worthlessness is dramatized, at least turns out a commodity that has social usefulness. But *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* — and this is a crucial element of the plot — earns his living in what is presented as a truly contemptible and utterly phony activity, namely: Public Relations. Now if there's one thing worse than to engage in phoniness, for cash, it is such a party's self-pitying clamor for our sympathies. Mr. Peck, after all, could have made a decent man of himself by the simple device of getting a job in a more honorable profession (film-making, for instance).

True, in that racket he might have run into Mr. Nunnally Johnson, a jovial existentialist. But this shouldn't really confuse Mr. Peck whose complexion is sincere in the same way in which that of other people is freckled. He would soon discover, I trust, that life, even though it's getting sucher and sucher, is still several cuts above the existentialist caricature that Mr. Johnson shoots to the tune of several million dollars. And that business, even though it includes Hollywood, can safely stand a comparison with the moral conduct that prevails in the jungles of a phony intelligentsia.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Hypocrisy Against the Devil

MEDFORD EVANS

Corliss Lamont accepts dialectical materialism. He supports the Soviet Union: "these [Soviet] Russians have had the strength and initiative to build a new form of society which constitutes a challenge to the rest of mankind." But to a congressional committee: "I volunteered the information that I was not and never had been a member of the Communist Party. This I did in order to throw McCarthy off balance."

Is Lamont himself perhaps off balance? What is the price of being a Communist manqué? Victorian Browning condemned the Duke and the lady for *not* consummating their purposed adultery. On the other hand, the great and good Dr. Johnson used to take prostitutes to dinner in order to hear their life stories. The common man will take Othello's word: "They that mean virtuously and yet do so, / The devil their virtue tempts and they tempt heaven." Though Corliss Lamont is not of the Communists, his latest book (*Freedom Is as Freedom Does,* Horizon Press, $3.95), like the others, is with them and for them.

Freedom Is as Freedom Does occupies a zone of action in the drive, which J. Edgar Hoover recently predicted, to make Communism respectable. Here it is, coordinated with the denigration of Stalin and the convivial excursions of the new men in the Kremlin. (Remember when Harry Truman said, "I like old Joe. He's a decent fellow, but he's a prisoner"? Now the wardens are received in Downing Street.) The Soviet Union is to try now whether a police state too may benefit by Newton's first law of motion, coasting freely ahead for a while on the momentum of past terror. "Look, Mom! No hands!"

Now we shall hear that the Soviet Union is rapidly becoming less of a police state, while the United States—but let Lamont say it: "Congress has legislated us steadily in the direction of fascism. . . . [The FBI] has already set up an embryo police state. . . . I do not think that Hiss was guilty beyond all reasonable doubt. . . . The integrity of the Department of Justice—not to mention the American judiciary—is also at stake in the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. . . . the Department of State has for many years been adopting police-state methods . . . . Attorney General McGranery brought shame on his country by ordering the Immigration Service to prevent Mr. [Charles] Chaplin from re-entering the United States . . . actions that both violate the Constitution and smack of a police state."

As Lamont passes the word, it is this: "McCarthy the man is in eclipse, but McCarthy*ism* remains strongly entrenched throughout the country. . . . For example, none of the repressive laws which Congress has passed has been declared invalid by the U.S. Supreme Court; and the Government is still bringing prosecutions under the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Immunity Act, and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act." That, Lamont indicates, has got to stop.

Lamont is a master of the key organization principle — back your own men no matter what they do. (Vice versa with the enemy. I knew a scientist at Oak Ridge who said, "We will say the opposite of what General Groves says, *no matter what it is.*")

Lamont vigorously opposes the chauvinism and warmongering of superpatriots who represent Communism as a conspiracy and the Soviet Union as a military threat. Yet he never rebukes Bishop Oxnam—he refers several times to Bishop Oxnam—who told a congressional committee flatly, "I believe the Communist Party is a conspiracy." He praises Robert Oppenheimer, who was cleared by Dr. Ward V. Evans on the ground that "he hates Russia." If the average person is so much as suspicious of the Soviet Union, Corliss Lamont, former Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, classifies him as a "xenophobe."

Lamont characterizes as a "motley crew" and as "cringing" those ex-Communists who have tried to atone for their mistakes, while he evidently admires ex-Communists like James Wechsler, and dismisses as of no consequence what he calls a "trumped-up charge" (he does not say false charge) that deportee Cedric Belfrage "had been a member of the Communist Party in 1937." He brands as "notorious" Paul Crouch, who died in a poverty he had never had to endure while he was a Communist, at which time, like Carl Braden, he could doubtless have raised $40,000 through such as Corliss Lamont, if, that is to say, he had needed it then—well, not for lung cancer, maybe—but for bail.

The wealth and position of Corliss Lamont afford him a prominence which he does not reject. "I and some of the other students," he begins a reminiscence about Harvard. To be so conspicuous unavoidably provokes public speculation about one's inner life. Besides, Lamont invites personal analysis because he is so far from being the only Communist manqué. Theoretical study of his career aims properly not at private condemnation but at the illumination of public policy. The following may suggest why Corliss Lamont does what he does:

His innumerable and irreconcilable

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self-contradictions cannot be attributed to ignorance or carelessness, for he is neither ignorant nor careless. Probably he is not unaware of the sardonic grotesquerie of his position. Perhaps he is simply contemptuous of his reader. More likely, the author of *The Illusion of Immortality* is not tired of living, but is feared of dying. Cannot every intelligent and sensitive person say, *Timor mortis conturbat me?* The only satisfactory answer I know is to remember that Jesus rose from the dead. Those who do not answer so try various approaches, notably that of Lucretius. But the quaver in Lucretius' voice is just as audible as that in anybody else's. Hamlet and every whistler in the graveyard know the fear that death may not be the end. Communists want no ghosts on the roof or anywhere else.

Lamont once made an anthology of poems about death, to inspire those who do not believe in inspiration, and it contains some very wonderful poems—classics even. (It also has a very interesting poem by Ilya Ehrenburg, which will teach you more about the Bolshevik Revolution than a history book can: "We loved, we destroyed, we lived—in the hour of our death." Is exultation in destruction the key to Communism?) But here is a thing which I believe is psychologically interesting. Lamont, a well read man, includes a couple of poems on death by Rupert Brooke, but he does *not* include:

> If I should die, think only this of me,
> That there's some corner of a foreign field
> That is forever England.

This is indeed like taking Hamlet's speeches out of *Hamlet*. Depth psychology might suggest that such an anthologist had a strong death wish, with perhaps a political Oedipus complex. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

In July 1951 Corliss Lamont wrote, "Seeking and telling the plain truth, in whatever field of knowledge or action, is always a career in itself." I would suggest to him that much of his own career is yet to run.

From Without Beginning

Juliana of Norwich: An Appreciation and an Anthology, by P. Franklin Chambers. 224 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.75

The woman variously known as Dame, Mother and the Lady Juliana was born in 1342. She spent most of her life as an anchoress in a room adjacent to a small chapel in the prosperous weaving center of Norwich, in East Anglia. We have no record of her death, but she herself left us a very explicit account of the major day in her life.

In her thirty-first year, she became very ill. Expecting to die, she received the last rites from her priest, but lingered on for several days. Then, "in the year of our Lord, 1373, on the 8th day of May . . . early in the morning, about the hour of four," she had a succession of visions: fifteen in five hours, followed by a sixteenth the next night. She then recovered, and spent the rest of her life pondering, praising and interpreting the meaning of those visions.

The book Juliana wrote, *Revelations of Divine Love,* remained unknown for two centuries after her death. It existed only in various manuscript forms and not until 1670 was it first published (in French translation at that). An English edition for non-specialist readers came finally in 1901. Since then, however, an increasing number of people of all sects have recognized that Juliana's warm, tonic voice is speaking about realities at the heart of their own experience. And now, with Mr. Chambers' anthology, she ought to become one of the busiest private counsellors in print.

Juliana's temperament, unlike that of many mystics, was passionate without being ecstatic, possessed or unearthly. Though subtly intelligent, she is neither intellectual like St. Catherine of Siena, nor fanatical like Margery Kempe. There is a modest, wholesome *dailiness* about her. She describes herself as "a simple creature who was no scholar," which seems apt. Her revelations explore no "dark night of the soul"; her flesh is never tortured by St. Augustine's "cauldron of unholy loves." And her vision is one of deep gladness: at the revelation of love as the meaning and end of all experience. Sin is necessary; so are suffering, self-knowledge, humility—all the pains and ailings man is heir to. But in the last analysis "all shall be well." As one commentator has said, "She simply plunges into the depths of God's love."

The Roman Catholic Church has never acknowledged her among its saints, and this may be because there is, in her book, so little emphasis upon the communion of souls. She speaks almost exclusively of the individual soul's relation to God, and of its destiny as the ultimate dwelling place of His love. Of the relation of human souls to human souls, she has her least to say. Not because she challenges the importance of this relation; she is never unorthodox in this respect. But the idea that God's love is realizable in every human creature overwhelms, for her, all other considerations. For this reason, perhaps, she seems less Catholic than her contemporaries, and, like Pascal, more "modern"—in the explicit sense that her words address themselves to the individual soul rather than to any closed group.

Juliana lived at the fag end of what we call the Middle Ages. The Black Death and the Great Papal Schism were ravaging what remained of the mediaeval social and moral order. In our own modern times, the analogous agents may be atomic fission and world Communism. At any rate, established outer forms are just as surely breaking down on all sides, and individual souls are left to begin with their own self-conscious frailty and work outward to whatever form of true community they may find.

To these, the concrete insight that Juliana of Norwich speaks out of will not seem cliché, or simple-minded, or unmeaningful. Nor is it surprising that some of her words have already found their way into one of T. S. Eliot's most searching poems (*Little Gidding*). Or that W. H. Auden, in another poem which laments the failure of Western man to build a community worthy of the Christian ideal, quotes one of her sagest sentences as its motto:

> In the self-same point that our soul is made sensual,
> in the self-same point is the City of God ordained to him from without beginning.

ROBERT PHELPS

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Not So Fast!

The Guilty Mind: Psychiatry and the Law of Homicide, by John Biggs, Jr. 236 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. $4.50

A defendant pleading insanity in a homicide case is, under the M'Naghton Rules, adjudged sane (and so responsible for his criminal violence) if his actions at the time of the crime indicate knowledge of right and wrong, or knowledge of the nature of his act. And this book, which outlines the changes in the law that would result from a judicial recognition of psychiatric data bearing on the issue of criminal intent, goes far to explain why so many courts, shying away from the influence of psychiatry and the psychiatrists, have stuck to the old rules.

The rules of law that come to us from the past represent the fine distillation of hard-earned wisdom. *The Guilty Mind* ignores this, pays little heed to the considerations of policy that can be clearly discerned behind the M'Naghton Rules, and flatly rejects the Rules themselves. They are, it alleges, vitiated by the findings of modern psychiatry; and, in any case, they originated in a bad case of panic on the part of the rulers of Victorian England. The author, in a word, assumes that the past is prejudice, and that wisdom is to be found in science.

On its surface the book suggests only two changes in the law: adoption of a "more scientific" test (concretely, whether or not the criminal action proceeded from mental disease), and enlargement of the courts' power to commit mentally ill citizens *before* they engage in acts of violence. Both these changes, clearly enough, have much to be said for them—so much, indeed, that only the purest obscurantist would repudiate them completely if the case for them were properly put. The total impact of *The Guilty Mind* is, nevertheless, to make them suspect. For, according to it, we are to have—along with them—a third change, which has to do with our fundamental *awareness* of the law, and one that we shall wish to think twice about.

With the advent of psychiatry, we are told, we have the means of knowing the inner and even the unconscious life of man. The law no longer needs to judge men "whose consciences it does not know"; and since it does not, it can dispense justice with a firmer, and freer, hand. This burst of light has temporarily blinded Judge Biggs to other factors of his problem—which, accordingly, he never discusses.

The first question the book suggests but does not answer is whether the political problem of drawing the line of responsibility for action is exactly the same as the psychiatric problem of identifying compulsions. The world has long known that the evil a man would not, that he frequently does. Psychiatry has not discovered this fact, it has simply given it a new interpretation. The law as it stands can be defended as a policy decision that, in the interests of public safety and in defense of the fundamental principle of responsibility, the community will hold a man responsible for his actions unless it can be proven that not only his will but his mind itself has been shaken.

Juries today decide primarily whether a man should be punished, and in the marginal case of the mentally ill this decision is not necessarily determined by psychiatric data. This approach can be questioned, but it must be debated on the basis of public policy as well as psychiatry. And the book's failure to discuss this point suggests, on the part of the author, the tacit assumption that science will displace policy in the public order.

The book, moreover, generally disregards the supreme importance to society of the principle of responsibility. Thus the author mentions, *without disapproval,* a proposal that we require the prosecutor to prove sanity beyond a reasonable doubt once insanity is pled—which would give us an interesting extension of the principle that a man is innocent until proven guilty: a man is insane until proven sane. But it would also give us a conception of law that would make sense only in a mental hospital.

The second major question the book raises but does not discuss is whether it is wise to give the State power to confine citizens who have not violated the law. One could hardly argue that homicidal maniacs should roam unrestricted in our midst. But a new version of the ancient *lettre de cachet* hardly seems the proper solution to the problem. Of course, the assumption goes, this power would be safe because it would be regulated by a) the courts, and b) the scientists of psychiatry. But the book that makes this assumption also suggests that the guardians should act on a version of psychiatry that reveals this latest child of the age of science in all its youthful immaturity, and clothed in the most tattered garments of philosophical confusion. STANLEY PARRY

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New Worry

Our Daily Poison: The Effects of DDT, Fluorides, Hormones and Other Chemicals on Modern Man, by Leonard Wickenden. 178 pp. New York: The Devin-Adair Company. $3.00

This is a frightening book. Its author contends that virtually all of us consume each day small quantities of various poisons, some of them the residue of insecticides used on growing crops, and some of them deliberately introduced, on the advice of our colleges of agriculture, to hasten growth or to make food more attractive to the purchaser. The danger is evidently not illusory. Although it may seem to many readers improbable that the various chlorinated hydrocarbons now in universal use as insecticides could appear in the juice of fruit and, when frequently ingested in small quantities, be retained in the human body to produce ultimately a cumulative effect on vital organs, the best biochemical authority available to the present reviewer considers such an effect not only possible, but quite probable. R.P.O.

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To the Editor

The Bricker Amendment

Mr. Andrew Wilson Green in his Letter to the Editor [April 18] states that President Eisenhower and I have made a "deal" on a treaty-control amendment which is "motivated by partisan reasons, and is a deliberate, callous and cynical betrayal of principle." Mr. Green's charges are obviously absurd.

Fact No. 1: President Eisenhower has not approved the revised amendment providing that a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with any provision of the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

Fact No. 2: Left-wingers and One-Worlders are fighting the revised amendment just as hard as they did any previous version.

JOHN W. BRICKER
U. S. Senate Committee on
Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Mr. James Burnham's article on the Bricker Amendment [April 4], is one of the finest examples of lucid, pertinent and reasoned writing that I have seen in some time. I was especially pleased with Mr. Burnham's conspicuous adhesion to, and defense of, the principles inherent in our Constitution. His cogent and penetrating analysis of the situation *re* treaty-making has more than ever convinced me of the importance of the Bricker Amendment and/or similar legislation.

Detroit, Mich. ROBERT D. WRIGHT

Desegregation

I was pleased to see your editorial "Return to States Rights" in the April 18 issue. . . .I consider segregation to be dead wrong, but I must admit that the Supreme Court decision was based on very poor legal grounds.

I should have held segregation to be unconstitutional because 1) It is a violation of the right of free assembly (violating the white man's right also); 2) it violates the Fourteenth Amendment, in that it deprives citizens, both black and white, of liberty—the liberty to associate with whom they please—without due process of law. The lack of due process lies in that, since the Negroes have been largely disfranchised, especially when the Jim Crow laws were being adopted, the laws are *not* "by the consent of the governed"; and 3) there is the more general ground that . . . the only logical base for [segregation] is the presumption of Negro inferiority.

Frankly, I don't understand why the Supreme Court ignored the valid reasons for abolishing segregation, and depended instead on a psychological theory which . . . has no place in a court of law.

Chicago, Ill. GEORGE W. PRICE

. . . the Supreme Court decision [on segregated schooling] . . . may be legal; however, it is certainly most immoral simply because it violates Christian principle. . . .The Supreme Court acknowledged that if all other things were equal, the Negro child still lacked equal educational opportunities because he did not get to associate with the white child.

Christian principles tell us that we are all equal—you are no better than I in the eyes of God—therefore, if you feel you are superior to me, as does the Supreme Court feel about a white child to a Negro child, you are then in violation of the Christian principles —your act is then immoral!

Rock Island, Ill. RICHARD H. BURKE

Textbook Dropped

Appearing in your issue of March 7 is a misstatement . . . in the article "Academic Freedom at Iowa State" by Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., in which he states that the text *Economics: Experience and Analysis* by Broadus Mitchell and others "is still employed" by the University of Hawaii.

. . . I regret to admit that it was adopted by our Economics staff in 1954 but was dropped when it was found to be entirely unfit for use and has not been used since 1954.

LEE GLOVER
Department of Economics and Business
University of Hawaii

Malenkov, not Makarios

I find F. A. Voigt's article "Britain Caught in Cyprus" [April 4] the most plausible and convincing on this subject that I have read thus far.

I cannot help but think there would have been no misgivings in America, had England taken advantage of the rare opportunity of deporting its much feted guest Malenkov to a remote island, instead of the honored Archbishop Makarios, whose people fought so valiantly for Britain in the war.

Los Angeles, Cal. ELIZABETH HAMM

Easier Reading

If you want your magazine widely read, you'll have to make it much easier to read. . . "From Washington Straight" is good. . . .

Minneapolis, Minn. MARION EMERY

Let Hiss Talk When . . .

Alger Hiss should not only be allowed to talk — he should be encouraged to do so. But it should be in a field in which he is competent. He can fill in authentic and vital details of a gigantic treasonable conspiracy at which Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley could hardly more than hint; for he was a kingpin.

When and if he is ready to come clean, he can still do his country a great service by revealing his intimate knowledge of Roosevelt's surrender at Yalta and Truman's woeful sabotage at Potsdam of a military victory won at such great expense of life and property; also of the machinations to undermine the sovereignty of the United States through the United Nations, in which he himself played a leading role.

Hiss is an unfortunate and unhappy man. If he has a soul, we should give him free opportunity to purge it. This he can do only by honest confession, and not before a small group of undergraduates in a closed session at a respectable university such as Princeton, but before the widest possible audience that press and radio can provide. Only thus can he hope to gain a measure of forgiveness . . . If he is not willing to make a clean breast of his misdoings, he should sneak out of the country some dark, dark night and join his counterparts, Burgess and Maclean, in Russia.

Washington, D.C. ELLIS O. JONES

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Here's Your Third Chance

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The first C-series entry blank appears below, and the series will be completed in the next three issues. Each contestant has five possible entries (See contest rules).

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"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

When properly filled out and submitted together with completed entry blanks C-2, C-3 and C-4, this will constitute an official entry to NATIONAL REVIEW's "Pick the Candidates!" contest, subject to the contest rules. Address your entry to "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y.

I predict that the 1956 Republican Convention will nominate:

For President of the U.S. _____

For Vice President of the U.S. _____

My Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW request the following information, which is not, however, an entry requirement for the contest.)

I suggest that the following might be interested in NATIONAL REVIEW:

Name _____

Address _____

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Contest Rules

1. Any resident of the United States above eighteen years of age may enter (except employees of NATIONAL REVIEW and their families).
2. To enter the contest, each contestant must fill out four official entry blanks (or facsimiles) with predictions as follows:
   a) The 1956 Republican nominees for President and Vice President
   b) The 1956 Democratic nominees for President and Vice President
   c) The number of first ballot votes for the Republican Presidential nominee
   d) The number of first ballot votes for the Democratic Presidential nominee
3. Beginning with the March 7 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW is publishing one entry blank each week for twenty successive weeks. These blanks will be numbered as follows: A1, A2, A3, A4; B1, B2, B3, B4; C1, C2, C3, C4; D1, D2, D3, D4; E1, E2, E3, E4.
4. Each contestant must fill out the four complete blanks of one set (i.e., the "A" set, "B" set, etc.), and must send in all four at one time, in one envelope. Each contestant may send in one entry of each set — five possible entries in all. (It is not necessary to buy NATIONAL REVIEW in order to enter. You may apply for entry blanks at NATIONAL REVIEW's office at 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; but, to facilitate handling, only one blank can be supplied on each application.)
5. The contest will close on August 1, 1956. Final entries must be postmarked not later than 11 P.M. on that date. Winners will be notified on or before September 15, 1956.
6. All entries must be addressed to: "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.
7. The standing of the contestants will be determined by the number of candidates correctly named, with ties decided by the relative accuracy of the first ballot estimates. If ties still remain, tie-breaking questions will be assigned.
8. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW will act as judges. Their decision on all matters will be final.
9. Entries to this contest will not be accepted from states where prize contests are prohibited by state or local law.

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